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SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF
ROMAN CATHOLICS
IN ENGLAND, IRELAND,
AND SCOTLAND.

JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN.

No. 39.

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SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF ROMAN CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 39

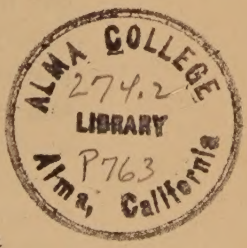
EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF ROMAN CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND

FROM THE REFORMATION PERIOD TO THAT OF EMANCIPATION, 1533 TO 1795

BY

JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.



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EDITORS' NOTE

THE use of names for religious bodies is often an occasion of difficulty. In the course of time such names are liable to slow changes, imperceptible probably at the time, and yet afterwards the variation may be regarded as of deep import. It has therefore seemed well to the editors and to the author to go back in the present issue as far as possible to old-fashioned terms, not liable to controversy—"The old Religion," "The new Religion." They are still perfectly intelligible, but one must remember that they signified, and here signify, not matters of interior belief only, but also matters of observance, ceremonial, organisation, and the like.

FOREWORD

THIS little tract endeavours to indicate how to take the first steps in researches into Roman Catholic history, both in general and in special subjects. It was inevitable that much should be presumed. It has been supposed that the intending searcher is not altogether unacquainted with research work in general, and that he has ordinary facilities for access to libraries, archives, and catalogues. For such I have asked myself, How can I give most aid in the smallest space? I cannot give a full historical introduction, but I have briefly noted the changing policy of the State towards Roman Catholics, in order to show the kind of State Papers which that policy produced. They are accessible under the references given, and from them we must reconstruct our picture of the political history. Again, there is no space for an introduction to the Church legislation; but the names are given of the various Church rulers and of their offices, and the dates of their succession, and of their constitutional enactments. At the end is a sort of subject-index to any good library catalogue. Indeed, the whole tract is rather a subject-index than a textbook. It is not meant to stand alone; it is meant to give first aid to those who have access to sources.

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF ROMAN CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND

§ I.—SOURCES AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. The Reformation was introduced in England and Ireland under Tudor Sovereigns at the height of their autocratic power, and one result for those of the unreformed creed was to cause a great break in the preservation of their records. In Scotland the violence of the Kirk produced the same result. For two and a half centuries no marriage or baptismal registers, nor any records of this character, were kept by them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland; and only few confidential records of a more secular character, such as memoirs, biographies, correspondence. Until the bloody code of the Tudors became inoperative, the danger of such records was so grave that the practice or duty of preserving them was hardly ever discussed or mentioned. Of course, there were exceptions, local, personal, or transitory, as time went on; but, broadly speaking, no documentary evidence of importance was preserved; even gravestones,

for instance, were without the characteristic religious formulæ.

Abroad, however, circumstances were different, and there the customary preservation of records continued, until a milder age permitted the religious exiles to return. From the epoch of the French Revolution, when the English colleges and convents came back (about 1794), and even for some decades before (the first English Relief Bill was in 1778), the custom of registering baptisms has been practised, and the custody of records has since continued in the ordinary manner.

§ II.—STATE PAPERS, ENGLISH AND FOREIGN

2. Of course, it is also true that there are multitudinous papers at the Public Record Office which concern the Romanists, as they are so often called; but these are, broadly speaking, all hostile, one-sided, and frequently coloured, fanatical, and persecuting. They are records of the cruel measures taken against them, not of their civil or domestic lives, which are only noticed casually or accidentally.

3. In diplomatic transactions the principal spokesmen for the old religion were the representatives of the Catholic Powers, Spain and France, Flanders, Bavaria and Austria, and especially the Papal nuncios in neighbouring Courts. Thus it has come that the Vatican Archives possess more materials for the two hundred and fifty dark

years than any other repository. A large collection of transcripts from this source has been made by Government, and is now at the Record Office, entitled *Roman Transcripts*, and a Calendar of those relating to the reign of Elizabeth is being prepared entitled *Calendar of State Papers: Rome*, of which Vol. I. covers the years 1558 to 1571. It is, however, to be remembered that fixed and regular nunciatures, like embassies, were not established till the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

4. For the Tudor and Stuart periods the Archives of Simancas are also very rich. The *Fondo Inglaterra* has been more or less covered for the Tudor reigns by the *Spanish Calendars*, but the *Fondo Roma* is still unworked, as also is that of *Grazias y Justitia* and other less important sections.

The most ample documentary publication from this source is entitled *Documentos Inéditos* under the editorship of El Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle. The standard guide to the records is D. Francisco Diaz Sânchez' *Guia de la Villa y Archivo de Simancas*, Madrid, 1885.

5. The rivalry between France and Spain, which played so large a part in Reformation history, also affects their diplomatic correspondence. Where Spanish Ambassadors find much to say about the religious question, the French find little. But *vice versa*, where the Spaniards are inattentive, the French are communicative, especially, for instance, in all that relates to Mary Stuart and to such matters as the prolonged marriage negotiations of Elizabeth with successive French Princes. Very

much turned here on the religious question. Could a foreign Prince be allowed to worship according to the Roman rite? Could Englishmen be allowed to be present? etc. Under a veil of flippancy the fundamental problems of the day were discussed with seriousness. Perhaps the best papers on the English side are those at Hatfield House.

The French originals are generally preserved either in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, etc., or in the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. But owing to the great destruction of diplomatic papers which took place at the French Revolution, there are many serious gaps in the correspondence, and its sequence is difficult to follow.

There is a small collection of transcripts by Armand Baschet at the Public Record Office, 1518-1714. But since this was made (some seventy years since) the progress of the French archives has been great, and Baschet's selection by no means represents the present archive wealth of Paris. Much has now been done towards filling the gaps in the correspondence. Consult the *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives du Dèpartement des Affaires Etrangères*, Paris, 1892, etc.; C. Langlois et H. Stein, *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1891. For "Hints on Books and Authors," see § XVI. below.

§ III.—PUBLIC ARCHIVES IN ENGLAND

6. We have seen that in our Record Office and public libraries we are not likely to find the ordinary civil and domestic records of Roman Catholics, even if we search the indexes under that modern official heading. The State Papers of earlier times spoke of them as Papists, Romanists, or Recusants, men of the old learning,

or old religion; or Non-Jurors, or even as traitors, or rebels; or otherwise ignored them altogether. This will make it appropriate to enumerate briefly some incidents and events, in which their fortunes were chiefly concerned, in various reigns; to enumerate also some typical persons and headings likely to be found in indexes, in calendars and catalogues, and in historical handbooks and guides; for it is impossible to make researches unless we know what sort of headings, titles, names, will cover the subject in which we are interested. The following lists of topics make no claim to be complete; they are merely hints or clues which may prove useful.

§ IV.—HENRY VIII.

7. The chief events in the reign of Henry VIII. which determined the fortunes of the anti-Reformers were the Divorce, 1527 to 1534; the exaction of the oath of Royal Supremacy, 1529; the separation from Rome, 1534; the Suppression of the Lesser and of the Greater Monasteries, 1536, 1540; the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536; proceedings against alleged superstitions, 1538; the imposition of the various formularies, such as the *Ten Articles*, *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition set forth by the King's Majesty*, 1539, 1543.

The leading names for the party in this period might be—Bishop John Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Bishops Gardiner and Bonner, Cardinal Pole, Queen Catherine and Princess Mary; Thomas Houghton, Carthusian Prior; Richard Reynolds, Bridgettine; Robert Aske, Esq.; John Forest, Observant Friar. Lives of all these are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

8. Numerous records exist at the Record Office about the persons and topics mentioned above. They are well calendared in *Letters and Papers*, and the calendarer, Mr. James Gairdner, has also written on them, pointing out the records of greater value, in his *Lollardy and the Reformation*, etc.

Of our pre-Reformation monasteries and convents, the most consistent at this crisis were the Carthusians of Sheen and London and the Bridgettines of Syon, Isleworth. To some extent they kept together, went into exile, and so preserved their corporate existence. Indeed, the Bridgettine Nuns still continue at Chudleigh, Devon, where they preserve many interesting memorials of their wanderings, and some records too, but none for this reign. The Carthusians retired to Bruges, and Maurice Chauncey, their historian, was in time their Prior. They were eventually suppressed by Joseph II. in 1783, but a few of their records are still in the keeping of the English Augustinian Nuns, who yet remain in that town.

§ V.—EDWARD VI. AND MARY

9. For the short and confused reigns of Edward VI. and Mary there are but few records, and the same dearth will also be found for the reign of James II. The probable explanation is that each was followed by some form of revolution, which impeded or prevented the transfer of papers and correspondence from the outgoing to the incoming

Ministries, the State Paper Office (1578) not being yet in existence. With regard to the short Tudor reigns, we see that in each case the Crown is the *primum agens*—all else mechanically follows suit. Now it pulls down chantries, guilds, and ancient doctrines; now replaces them with wonderful facility. But there is never popular discussion, election, or pronouncement. We cannot expect adequate records of private opinions, and we are left with hardly any accessible evidence on the part of the old religion. The Bishops' Registers appear to be almost complete, but only one (St. David's) seems to have been printed (see No. 1 of the present series). When they are more studied, their authority will doubtless be recognised as paramount.

10. Next after Queen Mary, Cardinal Pole is the chief leader of the time. He has left a large correspondence, of which four volumes are printed (1744), and there is as much more in manuscript (*Roman Transcripts*, P.R.O.). But relatively few of the letters are about England, and their main interest is literary. Pole's "Pension Book" at P.R.O. is full and valuable.

Some characteristic names: Bishops Heath, Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Sir Thomas Tresham; Sir Henry Bedingfeld (custodian of Princess Elizabeth); John Storey, D.C.L.

John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, with many attacks on the old order, contains also not a few pieces of evidence about its followers which should be accepted as historical. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* should also be examined.

§ VI.—ELIZABETH

11. The long reign of Elizabeth, 1558 to 1603, was of primary importance for religion, not in this country only, but in all neighbouring lands. Hitherto the Reformation had not permanently advanced beyond the Rhine; but through Elizabeth it not only prevailed in England, but also in Scotland and in Holland; it invaded France, it ravaged the Spanish Main, it settled in America. The whole of her reign was in one sense a Protestant crusade. Confining our attention to these islands, we see the old religion reduced to the utmost peril, and passing through its hour of anguish. But it emerged with renewed life, though with very reduced numbers.

While Elizabeth's advisers, whom she invariably followed in times of crisis, were always firm, sometimes even cruel, enemies of the old Church, she herself went through different stages of opposition.

(A) Elizabeth not yet finally wedded to Reform (1558-1565)

The events which chiefly affected the followers of the old order were—the Succession; the Coronation and its oath; the Westminster Conferences; the election of Parliament and the Bills of Supremacy and Uniformity; the imprisonment or internment of all survivors of Mary's hierarchy; the early visitations; the proposed marriages with Spain, France, and Austria; the Wars of Religion in Scotland and France; the invitations to Trent.

12. The fullest and most interesting Catholic witness of the first changes is Il Schifanoya (see the

Venetian Calendar). Then the Spanish dispatches become very important. Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila (1559-1563), and Don Guzman de Silva (1564-1568), Philip's envoys, behaved with great discretion and kept the Queen's ear in spite of many obstacles (*Spanish Calendar*). In 1562 we have a long and detailed report of Dr. Nicholas Sander, printed in *Rome Calendar*. In 1564 began the controversy between Jewel and the Oxonians, now exiles at Louvain, etc.

Of these the principal were W. Allen, H. Cole, A. Cope, T. Dorman, J. Martial, N. Harpsfield, R. Poyntz, J. Rastell, N. Sander, T. Stapleton, L. Vaux. Other characteristic names of this period are N. Heath, E. Bonner, C. Tunstall, and the other survivors of the ancient hierarchy; Lord Montague, Sir Thomas White, Doctor Storey, Sir Francis Englefield.

(B) Elizabeth finally throws in her Lot with the Reformers (1565-1575)

13. The determining factor here is Mary Stuart. Had she played her cards aright, toleration for the old religion might have come sooner. As it was, in a moment of enthusiasm she married the worthless Darnley, and when, among the many troubles which followed, he was assassinated, she became vehemently and justly suspected, through not exacting justice. Revolution followed, she was made prisoner, and her chance of preserving the old religion was gone, though at first her gentle diplomatic measures had been very successful. While Elizabeth's Ministers had steadily encouraged

her rebellious subjects, Elizabeth herself was not at first unfavourable to her. Still, when Mary fled into England in 1568, Elizabeth immediately interned her for life.

But this and other jealous measures produced the impression which Elizabeth wished to avoid. She had made her erring sister into a martyr. People could not but remember that Mary was the legitimist heir to the throne; indeed, though there was then an Act against her, every Sovereign since has claimed through her. Hence followed the Rising of the North in her favour, 1569; the Excommunication, 1570; the flamboyant but empty negotiations called Ridolfi's Plot, 1571. Elizabeth, infuriated, now identified herself with her Ministers, and further harsh laws followed in 1572.

But the Bull of Excommunication, which thus seemed to be the occasion of terrible harm to the old religion, proved in the end its salvation. It awoke the minds of most to the true character of the Tudor tyranny, which domineered over conscience, as it did over other liberties.

The old religion had all along given its witness as to the doctrines in dispute with the New Learning, and by the excommunication it had spoken on the policy of the temporal ruler seizing spiritual supremacy. Its third task was to reorganise and to breathe new life into its much scattered and diminished flock. The man of the moment here was William, afterwards Cardinal, Allen. He founded an ecclesiastical seminary, first at Douai,

then at Rheims, from which the first priests returned in 1574. Under the shelter of this foundation, and of similar colleges which followed, the records of the renascent Church could again be preserved.

For the Catholic side of Mary's reign in Scotland, besides her letters (ed. Labanoff), see Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, 1901; J. Stevenson, *Claude Nau's Narrative*, Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat* or *Relations Politiques*, etc. For the English affairs, see *State Trials;* also Trial Records in the *Baga de Secretis;* the Coram Rege, and Controlment Rolls. There is also abundant correspondence at P.R.O., at Hatfield: *The Douay Diaries*, ed. Knox, 1878. The original Bull of Excommunication is in the Vatican Archives, printed in the *Bullarium;* also in N. Sander, *De Schismate Anglicano*, and Camden's *Elizabeth;* reproduced in Pollen, *English Catholics under Queen Elizabeth.*

(C) Elizabeth in Advanced Hostility (1575-1588)

14. The period opens with war against Spain in the Netherlands, and with prolonged courtings from the younger Duke of Anjou. The love-makers often descended to extravagant flirtations, but the religious negotiations were sincerely meant by the French, who abandoned the match when these transactions proved nugatory. Meantime the religious revival went forward. Priests came in, and were martyred with growing frequency. The first was Mayne in 1576, then Campion, Sherwin, and Bryant in 1581. Fathers Campion and Persons had been leaders in the great revival of 1580. In 1588 the annual victims exceeded thirty in number. This barbarity had become possible

by the "plot mania," which took its final shape through the repeated Spanish attempts against the Prince of Orange, who was finally assassinated on July 10, 1584. The nation was thereupon inflamed to madness, and the new Parliament of 27 Elizabeth sanctioned the terrible death of a traitor for every priest coming into England. The blind belief was that, as the Pope's men, they were bound to support all the wrong deeds of the Catholics abroad.

15. At the same time, 1585, (Sir) George and Gilbert Gifford, Walsingham's *agents-provocateurs*, involved Morgan (Mary's rash and unprincipled agent in Paris) in treason against Elizabeth, and through him John Ballard (a priest, but ambitious of acting the politician), Anthony Babington (a dreamy philosopher with real grievances). By the dexterous use of the Spanish arguments for the assassination of Orange, first one Gifford, then the other, succeeded in gathering a little band of conspirators; and finally a note announcing Babington's plan for Mary's liberation and Elizabeth's death was carried to Chartley by Gilbert Gifford. But it had been read by Walsingham *en route*, and was delivered resealed. Not suspecting the trap, Mary approved the plan of escape, passing over the assassination in silence. This was enough.

When the others had been executed, she was tried for her life. Her opponents attacked her with the fury of persecutors, she responded with the heroism of a martyr, and her death (February 8,

1587) was sometimes taken as martyrdom by her followers.

As every letter had been similarly carried and read *en route*, there was clearly no great danger to Elizabeth, and still more is this true of the other so-called plots of this reign. The "plot mania" arose out of religious-political excitement, rather than from objective evidence, though in the Wars of the Netherlands imprecations against Elizabeth were, of course, frequently heard among her enemies.

16. Meantime the ponderous forces of often-flouted Spain were becoming mobilised. In September, 1585, Antwerp was recovered from the Dutch, and the Spanish position in Flanders was stabilised. But at the same time Drake was ravaging the Spanish colonies in America. Philip II. at last saw that he could, and now must, fight in self-defence. His Armada eventually sailed on the 12th of July, 1588, and was finally defeated on the 29th. Yet the effort had done some good to Spain; the defence of her colonies was hereafter better managed.

Unpublished Sources.—See above 3, 4, 5; P.R.O., *Domestic* and *Foreign Papers*, Hatfield MSS.

Printed Sources.—See below 43, under Gachard, Kretschmar, Lettenhove, etc.

For Catholic Revival.—Morris, *Troubles; C.R.S.*, vols. v., xxi. *Martyrs;* xviii. *Recusants Roll.*

Trials after 27 Elizabeth are at Assizes (see, *e.g.* Cordy Jeaffreson, *Middlesex Records*). For Babington, etc., see Pollen, *Babington Plot* (in press); J. Morris, *Sir Amias Paulet;* Chantelauze, *Bourgoing*, and *Scottish Calendars.*

(D) Elizabeth's Rigour begins to Relax

17. The great Queen was now at the summit of her glory. The removal of Mary had obviated the scruples of many. A third generation had sprung up, which had never known the old religion, except through hostile channels; and now, with the deaths of Leicester, Walsingham, and Burghley (1588, 1592, 1598), Elizabeth became somewhat more humane. Though the prisons remained full, and the annual slaughter of priests went on, the number of victims diminished. Later on, she pursued a policy of *divide et impera*, and thanked the French Ambassadors for befriending the "appellant priests" against their Archpriest. She finally acknowledged that a "stiff Papist" could be "a good subject," which she had before "believed impossible" (*D.N.B.*, under Edward Somerset). Another indication of improving conditions was the institution by the Pope, 1598, of an Archpriest, George Blackwell, to preside over the clergy.

18. Meantime the peace of Europe, so long disturbed by Reformation wars, began to reach stability. Henri IV. of France was fully recognised as a Catholic by the Pope, September 17, 1595; and with that France was in due course united on his side. Then, after a celebrated decree, called the *Edict of Nantes*, April, 1598, he made peace with Spain at Vervins on the 2nd of May following. Hopes were entertained abroad that England would join in the Peace, and the Cecils

were in its favour. But the war-party under Essex succeeded in blocking the proposal till the end of the reign.

(E) Scotland

19. If the old Church could have maintained itself in Scotland until James's accession, its prospects would have been far brighter. But the closing decade was less fortunate than that which had preceded. The counter-Reformation had been begun by missionaries from England, especially William Watts and Father William Holt, S.J., in 1581, who were hospitably received. At first Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, James's favourite, who resented having been forced into Presbyterianism by the Kirk, made large offers of help, but these came to nothing with his fall and premature death. Then Father James Gordon, S.J., brother of the fourth Earl of Huntly, after 1584, powerfully revived the survivors of the ancient religion. Tolerated and even favoured at first by King James, a Catholic party, of which George, fifth Earl of Huntly, was leader, struggled to save the residue of the old Church. But the violence of the Kirk, backed by England, and sometimes aided by King James, crushed every dissentient. The Catholic Earls submitted on May 10, 1597, and henceforward their party sank into insignificance.

The details of this struggle are as yet little known. The English dispatches on such incidents as the

Spanish Blanks, the battle of Glenlivet, the excommunication of the Earls, give one side of the story at some length. But the Catholic records, preserved in the Vatican, at Simancas, or in Jesuit archives, are so far very imperfectly published; nor have we any definite information of the parts taken by English spies or provocateurs, such as Robert Bruce of Binnie or John Cecil.

(F) The Succession

20. Elizabeth's tyrannical freak of suppressing by the "Statute of Silence," 23 Eliz., c. 2, every allusion to the succession, and even the most necessary constitutional precautions in its regard, led to some strange developments. Looking back, it seems clear that James had the best claim. But at the time this was not obvious. Acts of Parliament and previous traditions barred the claim, and the jealousy of the English against the Scots seemed an insurmountable obstacle. There were also several English nobles who had claims, as Arabella Stuart, the Earls of Hertford, of Derby, of Huntingdon, and the Poles, but each claimant had his weak point or several weak points. Finally, there were also foreign descendants from Edward III., inferior to the above strictly speaking, and yet so little inferior that their partisans might often consider them superior. Such were the Dukes of Parma and the King of Spain. The question was further complicated by Mary Stuart leaving her claim to King Philip, who in turn left it to his

daughter, the Infanta Isabel; and many Catholics abroad, especially those in Flanders, at first sided with her.

While it eventually did James more good than harm that his strongest competitors were so far removed from the traditions and affections of the people, he was also active in pushing his claims among foreign Catholics themselves by numerous envoys, travellers, and even by refugees of the same faith, such as Robert, Lord Sempill; William Colonel Sempill; John Ogilvy of Poury; Edward Drummond; Robert, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar; Sir Anthony Standen; James Wood, laird of Boniton; Sir James Lindsay. Though not all consistent Catholics, they belonged on the whole to that side, and in general their object was to show that James was moderate, friendly, and would be a good neighbour. These truths were sometimes diversified by unexpected proposals for war or marriage, which led the English intelligencers into making strange reports concerning their authors. James's energetic struggle with the Kirk at this period caused many foreign Catholics to believe that he was a Catholic at heart, and they eventually welcomed his accession with enthusiasm.

MS. Sources.—Rome, Spain, Westminster Archives, Stonyhurst, Petyt MSS. at Inner Temple; P.R.O. Recusant Rolls (see Nos. 3, 4, 35, 36).

Published Sources.—Cath. Rec. Soc., xxi.; Foley; Morris's *Gerard;* Tierney's Dodd; Law, *Archpriest Controversy;* idem, *Jesuits and Seculars.*

Authors.—Couzard, *Une Ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV.*;

Pollen, *The Institution of Archpriest Blackwell;* Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church;* Bliss and Guiney, *Recusant Poetry;* Grosart, *Rob. Southwell;* Gerard's *Henry Garnet* in *Month*, 1898.

SCOTLAND.—Scottish Hist. Soc., 1893; Law, *Scottish Catholic Documents;* W. Forbes Leith, *Narratives;* P. F. Tytler, *History.*

THE SUCCESSION.—While the English Catholics also eventually decided for James, they were previously divided, and a party among the exiles, of which Father Persons, S.J., was then the representative, brought out "N. Doleman, *Conference on the Next Succession*"; the penman may have been R Verstegan.

§ VII.—JAMES I.

21. From henceforward the followers of the old religion, though revived by the new spirit called the counter-Reformation, are few in number, and by consequence of little weight in State affairs. Hence again diminished attention in the State Papers; and the obscurity was increased by a sort of *disciplina arcani*, practised by the faithful, something like that which held under the early persecutions. In spite of humane tendencies in the Stuart King, the traditional use of recusant fines, imprisonment, and executions continued, with varying and generally lessening rigour. On the other hand, foundations abroad were multiplying where religion could be practised integrally, and records and books written and preserved (see § XII., p. 36).

When James saw the universal welcome with which he was acclaimed, he is reported to have exclaimed: "Na, na, we'll not need the Papists noo." It is easy to see what irritation this would

have caused, even to his most enthusiastic advocates on the Catholic side; and when his acts began to correspond with his words, two plots ensued. Of the Bye Plot the documents are fairly well known through Tierney and Gardiner.

22. Of the Powder Plot there are numerous documents (which, however, refer chiefly to the trial) in *Gunpowder Plot Book*, at P.R.O., which is also calendared. For the broader historical aspects note should be taken of—(1) *the circumstances of discontentment*, indicated above; (2) *the character of Catesby*, an ideal conspirator, of gentle birth, not always a Catholic, but now over-eager in its cause, at least after his arraignment with the Earl of Essex in February, 1601. He had found out about the Papal briefs of 1600 (Gardiner, *History*, i., 98). The Simancas Archives (Estado 972) show that these briefs were elicited by someone in England during Elizabeth's sickness (conceivably, therefore, by one of Catesby's clique), and were intended to prepare the ground for the possibility of a Roman Catholic successor. They were burned after James's accession. Just before that Catesby had been confined, as a precautionary measure, by Government order, so well was his nature known. So long as James was tolerant, Catesby was true to his duty. When the recusant fines became higher than ever and the annual martyr-roll approached Elizabeth's standard, while the Spaniards could give no diplomatic aid towards toleration, Catesby began the Powder Plot.

A controversy, worthy of attention from record students, arose in 1897 between Father John Gerard, S.J., and the historian Dr. Samuel Gardiner. Gerard declared that almost every particular in the traditional story of the plot was coloured and untrustworthy. Gardiner replied by showing that reality underlay almost all such particulars. Yet the history thus restored was not "the traditional story," but the moderate and authentic version which Gardiner had previously published.

23. The Powder Plot was also exploited in order *to revive the former persecution.* Educated as Salisbury had been in Elizabeth's worst period, this cannot cause surprise. Several priests and laymen were executed under the law of 27 Elizabeth, and Father Henry Garnet, S.J., for supposed participation in the plot. Though quite innocent of this, his cause has difficulties, some of them depending on his duty as a priest. On these technical points the writings of his co-religionists should be consulted. Finally, an oath was elaborated, called the *Oath of Allegiance* (3 James I., c. 4), in order to paralyse and divide them, which, like all religious tests imposed by enemies, was full of objectionable snares. Though none were more ready to swear allegiance than the Catholics, they were here further required to swear, in effect, that those who held that the Pope, or anyone else, could dispense from the right divine of Kings to govern wrong were "impious, heretical, and

damnable," etc., and this "according to the plain meaning of the words." This made many conscientious men unable to take the oath. Its imposition, however, continued intermittently until the Test Oaths of 1672, 1678.

The oath soon led to extensive controversy. Having been condemned by the Pope, it was defended by James himself, by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, William Barlow, etc., while the Papal censure was upheld by Cardinal Bellarmine and many others. As the Bourbon regalists in France were defending absolutist doctrines (especially the so-called "Gallican liberties"), not so very different from those of King James, the controversy spread to that country also. The answers of Bellarmine and Suarez were burned by the hangman at Paris, and Pierre de Moulin defended James's oath, whilst several others wrote against it.

Queen Anne of Denmark had changed her religion while still in Scotland, and she apparently persevered till her death. But she kept all religious observances so secret that her creed almost escaped notice; she never intervened in favour of her co-religionists.

24. Towards the end of the reign, 1623, came the ineffective negotiations for the *Spanish Match.* The persecuting statutes were for the time suspended, and at first Charles made good progress at Madrid. But after six months he or Buckingham broke off the negotiations, and they returned to England, more irritated than conciliated by their experiences.

For the Spanish documents at Simancas, see the lists in Sanchez, pp. 74, 75. Some Vatican and French documents are printed by Stevenson, the *Month*, December, 1879. The negotiations with Flanders, 1598-1628, so important for Catholicism, are fully described in L. Willaert, *Negociations*, 1908. For the "Blackfriars' Accident," 1623, see Foley (36, below).

§ VIII.—CHARLES I. AND THE CIVIL WAR

25. Until the Civil War began, the Roman Catholic party were more prosperous under Charles I. than they had ever been since the Reformation. The English Jesuits, for instance, whose statistics are published, were more numerous in the year 1637 than they were again until the latter half of the nineteenth century (Foley, *Records S.J.*, vii., clxviii.). But this prosperity was not so much due to the toleration of King Charles (though that was, of course, a beneficent circumstance) as to the wide spiritual movement called the Counter-Reformation, which reached its greatest extent in France and Flanders about this time, and was reflected also in the Laudian revival. On the whole, the party appeared but little in public, and occasions of real or affected offence were almost unheard of. But the explanation of this was largely because their unpopularity was laid upon Queen Henrietta Maria. Though Charles, when under unfriendly influences, could even be cruel to her, as in the dismissal of her French chaplains, he was on the whole both tolerant and affectionate, and he allowed her to have an agent in Rome (Arthur Brett and Sir

W. Hamilton), while a Roman agent addressed to her (Gregorio Panzani, William Conn, and Count Rosetti) lived in London from 1635 to 1641. They sent off every Wednesday long letters (still extant) on Catholic affairs. Their main object was to keep order between the missionary priests. For while persecution made it impossible to have a Bishop at their head, the fervent spirit of the age too often led individuals, colleges, or orders into partisanship or other extremities. The agents managed this part of their duty well, but were less felicitous in their political sympathies with the King and Queen. Trained in ideals of government even more paternal than those affected by Charles, they were of little use in suggesting that moderation which was then above all things necessary.

There are fairly complete copies of this abundant correspondence. R.O., *Roman Transcripts*: with other copies, B.M., Add. 15,350, etc. (*Marini Transcripts*). Panzani's *Memoirs* (1634 to 1646), tr. by J. Berington; his negotiations with Laud (1643) in Somers's *Tracts*.

26. When the Puritans gained the upper hand, the old days of persecution returned. The worst of the old laws were once more put into force. Priests were again butchered in public, and the lot of the laity was deplorable. Their houses were sacked, their property confiscated, their children educated perforce as Presbyterians. The King at first exerted himself to save the priests, especially the eight condemned in December, 1641, and eventually they were all left to die of prison hardships. Pretended Popish plots kept the mob

in a ferment, but the Irish Rebellion gave an occasion for this credulity. This hurricane, if it rose suddenly, passed away in a few years, and its declining activity was exercised chiefly in the confiscation of property.

Of these confiscations much may be learnt from the Calendars of the "Committee for Compounding." The period is one memorable rather for ruins than records. Those of the Catholics are but scanty and scattered, but they are found in many collections, such as the Clarendon Papers, the many memoirs of exiled Royalists, and the like. The French and Venetian Ambassadors will probably be found to give the fullest contemporary Catholic accounts of Catholic fortunes. For the "Clerkenwell Discovery," 1628, see *Camden Miscellanea II.*

§ IX.—CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

27. While the Royalist and Catholic parties found much relief under Charles II., the latter were expressly refused the toleration which was graciously extended to Dissenters, and the banishment of all priests was ordered soon after. A proclamation against them was issued in 1663, and great odium was excited after the Fire of London, which was mischievously attributed to them; but no active persecution followed. For the years 1678 to 1682 Titus Oates, supported by the Earl of Shaftesbury, excited almost to madness the bigotry of the multitude, and gained control over Parliament. The sufferings under this persecution were once more acute; priests and lay folk were executed, the prisons were filled, and a reign of terror ensued. But eventually the storm passed without serious additions to the penal laws.

In 1903 J. Pollock put forward a new theory of Oates's Plot. which was discussed not in the reviews only, but also by A. Lang, J. Gerard, and others.

In 1673 James, Duke of York, secretly changed his religion, and by degrees the interests of his co-religionists became merged in his until the Revolution. After his accession (1683) his rule was at first temperate and constitutional, but after the failure of Monmouth's rebellion he came obsessed with the idea that, if he wanted to assist his co-religionists, he must do so at high speed. So while many of his measures showed that unscrupulousness about the Constitution which characterised all the Stuarts, even his constitutional measures were urged with a vehemence which made them suspect. No sooner was a son born than revolution followed, and he was deserted even by his own children.

28. The fullest source for information as to James II.'s religious policy is probably furnished by the dispatches of the Papal agent, Count Ferdinand d'Adda (afterwards Archbishop of Amasia), Add. MSS. 15,395, etc. (see also 34,507 to 34,512, Mackintosh's MS. collections). There are also abundant papers at Modena, Florence, and elsewhere, but there are remarkable deficiencies. There is little at the Record Office; all Catholic establishments in England were destroyed by mob violence. Not a single letter survives written by Father Petre, S.J., nor one to him. For the later Stuarts there are numerous sources. *Historical*

MSS. Commission gives five volumes to *Stuart Papers*, at Windsor; Roxburghe Club two volumes, 1843, 1889; J. H. Glover another volume, 1847; Campana de Cavelli, *Derniers Stuarts*, Onno Klopp, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, etc., and many memoirs.

§ X.—THE DULL CENTURIES (1688 TO 1829)

29. William III.'s policy differed from that of the Cecils, Cromwell, and Shaftesbury. They wished to create, or to keep, power to extirpate at short notice. William and the Whigs aimed at slow extinction by steady pressure. Their measures were—double taxes, no offices, no votes, no professions, no education; no horse worth more than five pounds; younger sons on conforming to oust the Catholic heir; one hundred pounds reward for an informer whose evidence convicted a priest of saying Mass. Illiberal and un-English though this was, it ended the reign of violence, and so prepared for the era of record-keeping, though that was still deferred by violent measures after 1715, 1745, and by the Gordon Riots, 1780. The number of adherents to the old religion was also gradually brought very low, and they reached their minimum by the first Relief Bill, 1779, when they were estimated by some at only 60,000. Their property, too, was much encumbered; the convents abroad were steadily shrinking and oppressed by bad debts. The passing of a second and more adequate Emanci-

pation Bill was deferred by a number of small hitches, which under the party system sufficed to block the measure for fifty years, until it was carried by the vigour of O'Connell in 1829.

But the keeping of such records as baptismal registers had begun much earlier. Up to the first Emancipation Act, however, and even later, they were kept in pocket-books, easily hidden, and also, alas! easily lost. It was only after 1829 that such signs of previous oppression were entirely laid aside.

Characteristic Topics and Persons.—The Revolution Settlement; the exiled Stuarts; the Rebellions of 1715, 1745; the Gordon Riots; Bishops Richard Challoner, John Milner, and William Poynter.

E. Burton, *Life of Bishop Challoner;* Estcourt and Payne, *English Catholic Non-Jurors*, 1885; J. Morris, *Catholic England in Modern Times*, 1892 (reprinted from *Month*, 1891); T. Murphy, *Catholic Church in England during the Last Two Centuries*, 1892; J. O. Payne, *Old English Catholic Missions*, 1889; also *Records of English Catholics of 1715*, 1900 (from "Forfeited Estate Papers"); B. Ward, *Dawn of Catholic Revival* and *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, 1909-1912.

§ XI.—ARCHIVES AND MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

30. As in all archive researches, it is necessary here to have some clue to the administrative machinery on the lines of which the records have been deposited. Returning, therefore, to the break with the Papal jurisdiction made by the Tudors, we find at first the only remedy attempted was to make Pole a Cardinal Legate, and it was through his often-renewed legation that all Papal attempts at counter-reformation were made. After his short-lived success, 1556 to 1558, Eliza-

beth enforced her settlement of religion by keeping all survivors of the ancient hierarchy under restraint till their deaths. This, if unremedied, would in time have cut off all flow of Papal jurisdiction in the land. The Pope, therefore, acting as Apostolic or Universal Bishop, at first (1564) appointed Sander and a few other simple priests to act as subdelegators; but after about 1579 Dr. Allen, president of Douai Seminary, was entrusted with this power, and he became in time a Cardinal, resident in Rome, and practically Patriarch until his death in 1594. After four years George Blackwell, residing in London, was appointed Archpriest till 1608. Then George Birkhead succeeded till 1614; and finally William Harrison, who died in 1621.

31. Charles I. being now about to marry a Roman Catholic, a Bishop with his see in foreign parts (Chalcedon) was sent—(1) William Bishop, 1623 to 1624; (2) Richard Smith, 1625, retired 1631, and died 1655; (3) John Leyburn (Bishop of Adrumetum), 1685 to 1702; (4) Bonaventure Gifford (Madaura), d. 1734; (5) Benjamin Petre (Prusa), d. 1758; (6) Richard Challoner (Debra), d. 1781; (7) James Talbot (Birtha), d. 1790; (8) John Douglass (Centuria), d. 1812; (9) William Poynter (Halia), d. 1827, etc.

The above dates are of value, not merely because of the events to which they are here attached, but also because changes of administration are commonly accompanied by discussion, by surveys

of past administration, and the settlement of future policy. Thus the appointment of Blackwell occasioned "the Appellant controversy," and the retirement of Bishop Smith was very keenly debated; numerous records are extant of both litigations.

32. The Minister in the Roman Court to whom English affairs were ordinarily referred was styled the Cardinal Protector of England. No list of them has yet been published. It should comprise the following names from 1535 to 1622: Cardinals Pole, Moroni, Enrico Gaietano; Edoardo Farnese; Francesco Barberini, etc.

In 1622 the newly established Congregation de Propaganda Fide took the place of the Protector for ordinary business. For the contents of its ample archives, to which, however, the public are not admitted, see Guilday in § XVI.

Church legislation may be said to begin by the granting of privileges, often in some bull or brief of foundation. Further steps are often taken after litigation or discussion, the sentence or decision becoming a precedent or rule for further action. The English College in Rome, situated near the source of legislation, was well looked after in this respect, its papal grants and privileges becoming precedents for similar ordinations elsewhere. Its foundation bull (May 1, 1580) is printed in the *Bullarium;* the *Visitation* of 1585 is printed by Meyer; that of 1597 by Foley; the decrees of 1624 by Tierney (see § XVI.).

33. The relations between the Regular clergy and Episcopal government were regulated by the brief "Britannia," May 9, 1631, and by " Plantata," July 12, 1633; then by the decree of October 6, 1695, solemnly confirmed October 5, 1696. After another half-century legislation was continued in decrees of 1745 and 1748, which were confirmed by the *Regulæ Missionis* issued by Benedict XIV., May 31, 1753.

As so many Catholics lived and worked in France and Flanders, they were naturally much affected by the ideas prevalent there on Regalism, Jansenism, Gallicanism, and other fashions prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only one English divine, however, Thomas White *alias* Blackloe (1593-1676), acquired any notoriety for laxity of teaching. Though so much debated, the influence of the errors of the day was very slight in this country. Out of over four thousand authors now on the Roman Index, only thirty or so are English.

§ XII.—THE FOUNDATION MOVEMENT, 1606 TO 1633

34. The great Counter-Reformation movement, long held in check in France by the Wars of Religion, reached its zenith with the religious peace made by Henri IV. Then it spread to England just when it became clear, after the Powder Plot, that James would continue Elizabeth's policy of

persecution. After this zealous souls, who had hoped against hope for freedom, perceived that, if they were to have religious houses at all, they must build at once, and in Catholic Flanders. Hence the foundation of some sixty religious households, peculiarly stable and conservative, which, to say nothing of their religious character, must be mentioned here as having preserved the records which it was unsafe to keep in England. Not only did each foundation keep at least accounts, a "register," and an "obituary" of its members, which were to some extent biographical and genealogical: they also kept correspondence, perhaps also a "chronicle," and narratives of the escapes of its members in the journeys abroad. Nearly all the existing Catholic archives owe their existence to this movement. Colleges for training priests had begun earlier; after 1614 the clergy began to move for the appointment of a Bishop. They founded a Dean and Chapter in London, and established agencies at Paris and Rome, for financial and general purposes. The history of this movement has been published lately by Dr. Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, with full indications of records.

But the greater part of the archives which grew up in the houses founded abroad unfortunately perished amid the furies of the French Revolutionary movement. These were ushered in by the suppression of the Jesuits, 1760 to 1773, in which quantities of historical materials were ignorantly destroyed.

With the enforced flight of all communities to England in 1793 and 1794, records perished wholesale. Some were forgotten, some lost, some abandoned. In the general ruin little heed was at first paid to old papers. Even in England losses continued. Homes were not always found at once; some historical communities (as the Franciscans and Carthusians) had died out before the Emancipation, 1829.

There are considerable *reliquiæ* of English foundations on the Continent in the Libraries and Archives of Brussels, Douai, Lille, and Ghent, and where foundations had been made in France.

§ XIII.—EXISTING ARCHIVES

35. (A) The Secular Clergy.—They had originally the seminary of Douai (1568-1794, at Rheims 1578-1594), which was in a sense the mother-house of all such foundations, but its archives were lost at the Revolution. Its *Diarium*, however, has survived, and is now printed. The clergy had also colleges at Lisbon and at Paris. From a record point of view their "agencies" at Rome and Paris, for administrative and financial purposes, are more important still. The correspondence of their agents, which is often ample, and well preserved for later periods, forms the staple of the Westminster Archives. The miscellaneous volumes and papers have now been rearranged and rebound in a uniform series of thirty-four volumes up to 1715. The later years are even more copious, and the volumes are often in their original state.

Clifton, Southwark, and some other dioceses also have their own archives. The former is especially strong in correspondence relating to Emancipation; the latter has received valuable legacies from such collectors as Canon Tierney and Dr. Rock. The chief colleges for the clergy, as Oscott, St. Edmund's, Ushaw, have all some MS. collections. The old English colleges at Rome (see P.R.O., *Roman Transcripts*, Stevenson) and Valladolid still have considerable archives, though the historical sections are no longer in their prime. The MSS. of the "Old Clergy Brotherhood" (formerly "the Dean and Chapter") are of more than ordinary value.

36. (B) The Jesuits.—Their headquarters were originally in the English College, Rome, then at St. Omer and Liège, whence, taking some boxfuls of books and papers, they came to Stonyhurst in Lancashire in 1794. Afterwards, however, they recovered several codices and many books, which they had originally left behind.

If the Jesuits still controlled all the establishments they once administered, they would have possessed most ample records, for they once had more colleges than any other Catholic corporation. But during the Revolutionary epoch they lost almost everything. For the Stonyhurst Archives, see the *Historical MSS. Commission Reports*, ii., iii., x. Besides a score of volumes from the old Rome Archives, there is a large collection of subsidiary and miscellaneous volumes. Many publications from this source have been made by J. Morris,

Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, 1872, etc.; Henry Foley, *Records, S.J.*, 1877, etc. A great many English Jesuit papers remain in the public archives and libraries of Rome, Brussels, Ghent, etc., as before mentioned. The Reports called *Annual Letters* (*Litteræ Annuæ*) were printed contemporaneously from 1580 to 1650. But more ample manuscript editions (from which the printed versions were condensed) also exist, and were continued to a somewhat later date. There are brief annual sections for the different English, Irish, and Scottish colleges under Jesuit management, which treat of studies, students' adventures, etc., but the Latinised names, or even the entire omission of names for safety's sake, detracts much from their utility. There is a fairly complete set of the printed volumes at the British Museum.

37. (C) The Benedictines.—Their chief archives are now at Downside Abbey, Bath, and an account of them will be found in the *Downside Review* (vols. v., vi.). A number of papers in the same *Review*, especially those of Dom Gilbert Dolan, illustrate the results that may be obtained by archive work in post-Reformation Benedictine history.

(D) The Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites.—Father Raymond Palmer, O.P., *Life of Cardinal Howard, Restorer of the Friar Preachers*, 1867, indicates the subject of the records preserved by the Dominicans, and the Catholic Record Society announce a volume of Dominican Records, prepared by Prior Bracey, O.P. (see also Historical MSS.

Commission, vol. ii.). Of the Franciscan records much may be learnt from Father Thaddeus, O.S.F., *The Franciscans in England, 1600 to 1850*, 1898. Their original register is preserved in the convent at Taunton. For the Carmelite Archives consult Father Benedict Zimmermann, *Carmel in England, from Documents of the Order*, 1899.

38. (E) Convents.—All the old convents of nuns, except that of York, were founded on the Continent, and used to keep registers, chronicles, and other records. Most of these were lost at the French Revolution, but twelve remain, belonging to the convents at Bruges, Carisbrooke, Chudleigh, Darlington (both Carmelites and Poor Clares), Lanherne, New Hall, Newton Abbot, Stanbrook, Taunton, and Teignmouth (where they have the register of Pontoise, as well as their own). Dom Adam Hamilton has published the *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses at Louvain, now of Newton Abbot, Devon*, 1904, and the Catholic Record Society has printed registers or records of the convents of Paris (Blue Nuns), Colwich, Darlington, East Bergholt, New Hall, Stanbrook, Teignmouth, and York.

39. (F) Muniment Rooms of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry.—Fear of keeping written papers, which might have proved very dangerous in penal times (when house-searching was enforced against them as late as 1745), discouraged or even prevented the rise of well-furnished muniment rooms among the Catholic nobility. The

findings of the *Historical MSS. Commission* strikingly confirm this. The very interesting *Tresham Papers* (see XV. below), saved because they had been walled up and forgotten for over two centuries, show us the sort of records which have been too regularly destroyed. On the other hand, there are some few exceptions, as *The Tyldesley Diary* (ed. J. Gillow), *The Bedingfeld Papers* (Cath. Rec. Soc., vol. vii.), etc. Though research in this field has been hitherto disappointing, patience and perseverance may yet lead to good results.

§ XIV.—CATHOLIC SOURCES FOR IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

40. As the fortunes of the party in the three realms were more or less identical, so the histories of their records run on parallel lines. In the public archives are numerous documents, but of a wholly hostile character: some Catholic archives descended from seventeenth-century collegiate or conventual establishments on the Continent; considerable sources in the Vatican, at Simancas, Salamanca, etc., and in the archives of Belgium and Northern France.

The Irish Catholics, though the more numerous, had the greater difficulties of transit to a land of liberty. Their small establishments were eventually consolidated in the eighteenth century into twelve colleges, the greater part of which, with 60 per cent. of the students, were in France; others

at Louvain, Salamanca, and Rome (P. Boyle, *Irish Colleges*, 1901). There were also a score of convents. But their archives suffered very, very severely at the Revolution; there remain, however, fairly numerous survivals at Salamanca (the University) and Louvain, also at Brussels and Rome. In Ireland itself, moreover, the Franciscans and others avoided suppression by retiring among the people, and so succeeded in preserving considerable relics of their ancient libraries. Hence the occurrence of great names among the friars of the sixteenth century, as the Four Masters, Colgan, O'Clery, and Luke Wadding (see *D.N.B.*). The convent of the latter in Rome, St. Isidore, was enriched by a great collection of documents, which have recently been taken back, and are now at Merchants' Quay, Dublin (*Historical MSS. Commission*, xvi.). The "Irish Martyrs," who suffered the extreme penalty under the tyrannical laws, or under mere violence, number two hundred and fifty-eight. The chief writers or editors who have described or edited their writings or sufferings are John Holing, S.J. (d. 1589); Bishop David Rothe, 1619; Luke Wadding, 1650; De Burgo, Bishop of Ossory, 1762; Cardinal P. F. Moran (his *Life of Archbishop Plunkett* is full of documents; *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, etc.); Denis Murphy, S.J., 1896; T. Fitzpatrick; M. O'Reilly; E. Hogan, S.J.; *The Irish Catholic Record Society*.

41. For Scottish Catholics archive difficulties were enormous, owing to the violence of their

Protestant compatriots. Scottish colleges and monasteries, however, were founded at Paris, Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid, Ratisbon. In Paris the archives were founded by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who in 1560 saved the registers of his see (now printed), with many other records. At the French Revolution, however, when an attempt was made to take them back again, the first consignment was entirely lost; but the remainder, comprising many letters of Mary Stuart (since printed by Labanoff), were eventually saved, and are now at Blairs College. There also have been gathered a considerable number of records which came to the Scottish Bishops after the Revolutionary period. The extant registers of the Scottish colleges are printed by the New Spalding Club, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid, and Ratisbon*, 1906. Only one Catholic was juridically executed for his faith, John Ogilvy, S.J., 1615, and the records concerning him are printed by James Forbes Leith, S.J. (1885). Some families, such as the Gordons, Earls of Huntly, were remarkably staunch in their faith, and it is likely that their family records may throw a good deal of light on the fortunes of their co-religionists. Scottish Jesuit papers at Stonyhurst have been used by W. Forbes Leith, S.J., in his *Narratives* and in his *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, 1885 and 1909. The series of legal proceedings taken from time to time against Catholics is also here briefly calendared.

§ XV.—HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

42. This Commission began its labours about fifty years ago, visiting, among many others, several Catholic establishments. But before long it was found that more fruitful results were obtained by producing detailed calendars of the more important collections than by issuing unco-ordinated notices of smaller collections, such as those noticed above. Still, it will be well to conclude this survey with a note of the score or so of such archives reported upon at different times. It should be remembered, however, that since these reports were issued the work of putting into order, cataloguing, and binding has made much progress. In respect of archive order, the following reports are not always up to date. (Roman numerals indicate the number of the Report.)

Secular Clergy.—The "Chapter," v.; Oscott, i., ii.; Ushaw, i.; Westminster, v.

Benedictines, Dominicans, Jesuits.—Ampleforth, ii.; Stonyhurst, ii., iii., x.; Woodchester, ii.

Muniment Rooms.—Lord Herries, i.; N. W. Whitgreave, i.; Sir N. Throckmorton, iii., x., xiii.; The Duke of Norfolk and Lord E. Talbot, in *Various Collections*, ii., vii.; The Papers of Sir Thomas Tresham at Rushton Hall, *Ibid.*, iii.

Ireland.—Franciscans at Louvain, iv.; Jesuits at Dublin, x.; Rinuccini MSS., ix.; Merchants' Quay, xvi.

Scotland.—Buckie MSS., i.; Archbishop of Edinburgh, i.; Blairs College, ii.

§ XVI.—A FEW HINTS ON BOOKS AND AUTHORS

43. While a complete bibliography, even of the books indicated here and above, would take much space, it is hoped that the following list of authors and books, with abbreviated titles, will give a useful clue to searchers in any library furnished with a catalogue, to which it may be considered as a subject-index. This list does not repeat all the titles of books mentioned before. Where (as in the cases of Mary Tudor, James II., etc.) authors are numerous, an endeavour has been made to indicate by preference writers who are Roman Catholics. The letter (*b*) after a book indicates a special bibliography or good bibliographical notes. For MS. and printed sources see the sections above.

HISTORIES OF ENGLAND.—See Froude, Gardiner, Lingard, Rapin-Thoyras.

HISTORIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND.—C. Dodd (Tootel H.), 1737; second edition by M. A. Tierney, 1839 (unfinished); T. Flanagan, 1857.

HISTORIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.—A. Bellesheim, Hunter Blair (*b*). P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland.*

HISTORIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND.—A. Bellesheim, E. A. D'Alton.

PERIODS AND SECTIONS (see also the sections above).—Birt, *Elizabethan Settlement*, 1907 (*b*); Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, 1848; Cardinal F. A. Gasquet, *Eve of Reformation*, 1890; *Henry VIII. and English Monasteries* (*b*), 1888; *Old English Bible*, 1897; *Parish Life*, 1906; *Hampshire Recusants; The English College, Rome*, 1920; H. Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 1898 (*b*); Bridgett, *Elizabeth and Hierarchy*, 1889 (*b*); Bayne, *Anglo-Roman Relations*, 1913 (*b*); P. Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, 1914 (*b*); J. Kretzschmar, *Invasionsprojecte*, 1892 (*b*); A. O. Meyer

and McKee, *England and Catholic Church*, 1916 (*b*); W. Maziere Brady, *Catholic Hierarchy*, 1877; J. Morris, *Letters of Sir Amias Paulet*, 1874.

BIOGRAPHIES.—*Bishop J. Fisher* and *Sir T. More*, T. Bridgett, etc. (*b*); *Mary Tudor*, Stone; *Cardinal Pole*, A. Zimmermann (*b*), M. Haile; *Cardinal Allen*, M. Haile; *Cardinal Howard*, R. Palmer; *The Cardinal of York*, H. M. Vaughan, A. Shield (*b*); *Henrietta Maria*, H. Haynes, 1912 (*b*); *James II.*, J. S. Clarke, 1816; *Memoirs*, ed. Clerke; T. Longueville, 1904; *Mary of Modena*, M. Haile; *Bishop W. Bishop*, Cath. Rec. Soc., vol. x.; *Bishop Challoner*, E. Burton (*b*); *Archbishop W. Gifford*, Haudecœur; *Bishop Milner*, F. C. Husenbeth, 1862; B. Ward (*b*); *Edmund Campion*, R. Simpson (*b*); *Lives of Martyrs*, Bishop R. Challoner, B. Camm (*b*); E. Burton (*b*); J. Pollen (*b*); *J. Roberts*, B. Camm (*b*); *Luisa de Carvajal*, E. Genings, Lady G. Fullerton; *M. Lady Montague*, R. Smith; *Anne, Countess of Arundel*, Anon., S.J., *Lady Jane Dormer*, H. Clifford; *Biographies*, J. Kirk.

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